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THE
LETTER

of William Benson
TO

Sir *Jas* B—
banks

EXAMINED

THE

False and Unfair Quotations Detected
and Exposed : And the CLERGY
Vindicated from the Malicious Asper-
sions and Insinuations Suggested against
them in that Pamphlet.

In a LETTER to Mr. BENSON.

By IRENÆUS PHILALETHES,
An Oxford Scholar.

Matt. 5. 11, 12. Blessed are ye when Men shall Revile you,
and Persecute you, and shall say all manner of Evil
against you falsely for my sake.

Rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in
Heaven, for so Persecuted they the Prophets that were
before you.

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11.

ALMÆ MATRIS
Venerabili Academiæ
OXONIENSIS
D. D. D.

Filiorum Minimæ.

J. P.

PREFACE.

Good Reader,

I Have one small Favour to beg of thee, if thou hast any farther design than to spend thy Six Pence in half an Hours Amusement : It is no more than this, that you would peruse the Account of Sweden, before you give your Judgment on the Controversy between Mr. Benson and my Self ; or at least, that you would take the Pains to examine his Quotations as well as mine, and then give an Impartial Sentence whose Sincerity is the greater : There is no Fallacy wherewith an unwarpy Reader is oftener deceiv'd, than to trust to the Integrity of an Author for the Honesty of his Quotations, when in truth it is ten to one but he finds himself imposed on, when he comes to Examine into the matter with his own Eyes.

P R E F A C E.

I have scarce met with a Gentleman of Mr. Benson's Perswasion, but what has all along taken it for granted, that he has been perfectly Sincere and Ingenuous in his Vouchers ; it being in every ones Mouth, that his Work was plain matter of Fact without any design of Argument.

I remember I heard a grave Divine once answering to the Question, what did he think of that Letter ? That there was a great deal of truth very Maliciously applied : As for the Malicious Application we are very well agreed ; I am glad I have taken so much pains, as on good grounds to say, there is much less Truth than Malice ; and do humbly conceive in the following Sheets I have made this Position so plain, as to convince any unprejudiced Reader.

I must confess, the first moment I heard of so hardy an Attempt, my Fingers itch'd to try my Maiden Pen against so profess'd an Adversary ; but (tho' with much Reluctance and Impatience I own) I staid, expecting to see if some more experienc'd
Writer

P R E F A C E.

Writer would not exert himself in the defence of injured Virtue, and insulted Innocence: I waited long with all the uneasiness of Desire and Expectation: At last, I met in an Advertisement, some Remarks by way of Answer to a late Pamphlet, Intituled, a Letter to Sir J. B.

This I order'd my Bookseller to procure me as speedily as possible: I read it over with Eagerness and Curiosity, and found it to be a sufficient Answer to that Pamphlet, if it should meet with a Judicious, Patient, Attentive Reader: But alas! such an one is rarely found.

And therefore I immediately set about preparing an Antidote to the Poison of that Libel, in a different Method and Stile, that I might as well write to the Affections of some, as to the Judgment of others: How well I have kept up to my Design, is submitted to my Reader to determine.

Since I enter'd on this Business, I met with a Second Letter to Sir J. B. on the same Point, of which when I have said,
it

P R E F A C E.

it is on all accounts but one so excessively Moderate, as never to do any harm ; I think I have given it as full an Answer as it requires or deserves. There's too little Life, or Spleen, or Zeal in it, to pass on the World for the performance of the same Author : if the Title Page won't sell it off, the Bookseller I believe will repent of Printing it.

I have nothing more to desire of the Courteous Reader, but that if thou canst not be my Friend, thou wouldst not be my Enemy, because at present, I know no one that is so in the whole World : My Obscurity has hitherto protected me, and nothing but a Desire of Rescuing the Clergy and University from some of the Malicious Calumnies of Disappointment and Resentment, should have expos'd me to the Censure of an Ill natur'd Age, tho' I can't much fear (I own) that any will be right in their Conjectures of the Person that has assumed the Name of

Irenæus Philalethes.

April 13. 1711.

S I R,

S I R,

THere's no greater Offence against good Breeding, than to give a Gentleman the Lye ; no more is there a worse Trespas against Religion, than to give it to one self ; yet this every one does in my Mind, who insinuates or suggests those things in Speech or Writing, which he does not really believe in his Heart. I shall not therefore take that Liberty (which is indeed so usual) of saying every thing that I could invent to favour my own Cause, or to vilify my Adversary.

I am tied down to Truth by the Holy Religion which I profess : I am a votary to Reason by the course of my Studies : and to Manners and Decency I am obliged by my Birth and Education. A Scholars Gown may be worn without stripping one self of Christianity : Philosophy never spoil'd, but often improves our Reason : and a degree in the Univerfity never made a Gentleman a Clown.

And therefore Sir you may depend on it, you shall meet with nothing in these following Sheets that is inconsistent with strict Truth, impartial Reason, and good Manners, except the weakness of my Judgment may lead me ignorantly into some Mistake, or the warmth of my Resentment, may hurry me unawares beyond the Bounds of Modesty. But I hope to avoid these Errors and Indecorums ; because it is the end of Philosophy *in general*, to teach us so to regulate our Passions, that our Understanding may be in a capacity of examining things in their true and proper light, to divest our Minds of all those Prejudices which are apt to lead us astray in our Searches after Truth : And of Logic *in particular*, it is the design to learn us how to distinguish between Truth and Falshood, Reality and Fiction, Argument and Fallacy.

These are the Employments in which we pass away
our

our Youthful Years, to these we addict our selves. *Aristotle* and *Descartes* furnish us with materials for our Disputations : *Livy*, *Tacitus*, *Thucydides*, and our own *Clarendon* give us some tolerable Notions of History : *Sophocles*, *Terence*, *Congreve* and *Row*, refresh our Minds when wearied with graver Studies, polish our Thoughts, and let us into the Passions and Humours of the Ancient, or acquaint us with the *Ways* of the Modern *World*.

Those Gentlemen who make no Improvements from these Studies, ought to take the whole blame on themselves : for who can help the obstinate Idleness of those thoughtless Youths, who seem to fancy that they are sent to the University merely to Dress, or Game, or Drink, to lay aside their rural Modesty, in exchange for an affected Impudence, ten times more disagreeable ? It's very hard to charge these Miscarriages on an Academical Education, when there are so many noble Opportunities of improving their Minds and Manners.

If the Scholar design'd hereafter for the Bar, will neither learn to form a Syllogism, nor will make himself Master of one Oration in *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, is not the fault his own, should he prove a Fop instead of a Lawyer, and when he appears in *Westminster-Hall*, look fitter for the Drawing Room ?

And therefore Sir I beg of you, and other Gentlemen, who seem to take particular Pains and Pleasure too, in saying a thousand unhandsome things of our Universities ; not to form your Judgments of these Places from the Ill Conduct, or Ungovernable Rudeness of some Young Gentlemen, who in all probability would have proved the same, if not worse, at *Utrecht*, *Leyden*, or *Geneva* it self : for this method of Censure will lay open every Sort, Degree, and Order of Men, to the most Uncharitable and Malicious Reflections.

How easy would it be to collect from our own Comedians, the Follies, Clownishness, Barbarities, and Scornfulness of Country Gentlemen ; hence to draw a Monstrous Character of an Illiterate, Brutal Drunkard, and then to say you are a Country Gentleman ? Now this might pass for truth with them who know not Mr. *Belfon* ; might be taken for Satyr and Wit, by them who

who profess Ill Nature, and be look'd on as Demonstration by them who are Strangers to Reason.

How Insolent and Rude would it be to lay the Rustic Beastliness of some Men, to that gallant Body of Men in all the World not to be Parallell'd? Or so much as to insinuate that, because there may be One or Two found that love their Bottle better than their Wives, and their Sport than their Religion; therefore they are all of 'em Sots and Atheists? Is it not then as Unkind and Cruel to upbraid any other Society or Body of Men with the Indiscretions, or Impieties of some Particulars?

I am sorry I must tell you, that you have in effect Accused that venerable Academy, whereof I am, and that Reverend Clergy, whereof I hope to be a Member, of some of the worst of Crimes in such a Manner, as every Body of Men will ever complain of.

You may say you have not Tax'd them with any thing; if they will apply to themselves what you have said of others, it's their own Guilt, and not your Fault, that makes the Application so Obvious.

But where can be the Sincerity or Ingeniousness of such an Excuse? For have you not given such plain Hints and Intimations, that a Child of Seven Years Old must know what you mean? Let any Person of common sense, and entirely disinterested in all Party Quarrels, read over your famous Letter, and I dare engage he would say it was one continued Satyr on our Clergy, or at least, on all of them that are by their Enemies Branded with the Name of High-Church: That you seem to have had some peculiar Spleen against these Seats of Learning, and to be no Friend to their Prosperity; for that both University and Clergy, do wish, desire, and design the Loss of their Peoples Liberty, would gladly betray their Rights, and make the British Government an Absolute Monarchy: Had you spoke your Mind never so freely in the plainest words that could be found, none would have understood you better, than they do already from those sly Hints and Intimations, which are interspersed through your pretended Quotations of matter of Fact.

On this Point then I design to Expostulate a little with you, I say expostulate, because you seem to have foreclosed my arguing with you, when
 * Pag. 33. you say, * *what is here offer'd, is not Argument but matter of Fact.* I shall confine my self to those Particulars which I think more nearly concerns my self as a Member of that University, (which is mention'd by none abroad, without all the Marks of Kindness and Respect,) and as one that hopes in time he may write himself Minister of that Church, which is never spoke of with Contempt by any but our own Country Men.

How far your Letter may Reflect on the Queen, Her Parliament, and Ministers, I shall not trouble my self to Determine ; this I leave to be examined in a different manner.

But this I find is the ground of the complaint against our Clergy and University, that they teach and maintain the Exploded, Unpopular, Slavish, Detestable Doctrine of Passive Obedience : This Doctrine you affirm, destroyed the Liberties of *Sweden* : with this Doctrine you upbraid us ; and then leave the Reader to guess at your Meaning : You furnish us with Premises, and leave us to gather the Conclusion our selves.

But is not this Arguing ? Is it not somewhat more than presenting us with simple plain matter of Fact ? Who will ever call that fact, where for one line from the History you have ten spent in your own Commentaries thereon ? That it is not meer Fancy and Supposition, when I say you are so Unkind and Censorious, will appear from these remarkable Articles in the Table of Contents.

The Misery of the People.	p. 21.
The Misery of the People.	p. 22.
The Misery of the People.	p. 23.
The Misery of the People.	p. 24.
The Clergy the chief Instruments of it.	p. 25.
The Enslaving Priests Bred at <i>Oxford</i> .	p. 27.

And

And now how little does this want of a formal Syllogism ? The *Swedish* Clergy were Instruments of the Peoples Misery ; the *Swedish* Clergy were Bred at *Oxford*, and therefore what ? Why therefore the Clergy Bred at *Oxford*, will always be Instrumental in their Peoples Misery.

You may have sense enough to discern the Fallacy, and therefore rather chuse to let the Reader draw his own Conclusion ; but there is indeed no material Difference ; you spared indeed your own Pains and Modesty, and did your Business the more effectually, having thereby left room for an equivocating Evasion.

I can scarce forbear laughing when I see that Artificial Table of Contents : What a mean pitiful contrivance is it to make such a pompous Appearance for the Three first Pages ? Would not any one expect some stately Superstructure from the largeness of the Plan ? It looks a little like some awkward Workman, whom I have seen Chalking and Measuring, and Computing with great Industry and Application, when at last all this care has been about such a Trifle, as deserved not a second Thought ; Forty four Heads to Forty Pages ; this may inform us how much Accuracy and Exactness we may expect in the work : The Quotations are I think between Forty and Fifty in the same compass : hence may we make a tolerable conjecture with how much fidelity they are collected and inserted.

Had you been sincere when you told us you had not offer'd us Argument but Fact, you should have been content to have quoted your Authors *Verbatim*, without your own Glosses and References ; for otherwise you must not hope to be believed : for all the World are agreed in drawing their own Conclusions from plain premises foregoing.

Give me leave Sir to present you with a few lines out of your *English Cicero*.

‘ Would any one expect that the Doctor should be
 ‘ so forgetful of the Rules of Lo-
 ‘ gic, as when he had laid down the *Tryal* p. 315. Fol.
 ‘ Premises to deny the Conclufi-

on ? Or to deny the Conclusion to be his Doctrine who laid down the Premises ?

Can it be thought that he laid them down without an Intention that his Hearers should make the Conclusion ? Or could he think it possible they should not make it ?

Or shall the suppressing a Conclusion, so plainly arising, (which is taken notice of in some that write of Logic as an Elegance in Discourse) pass for an Excuse ?

If any one should inflame the Mob to such a degree of Rage and Mistaken Zeal, as to forget the Spirit of the Gospel, and to believe it their Duty to serve God by breaking the Publick Peace, and to Support his Church by Pulling down all Meeting-Houses, and Rifling the Houses of Dissenters : He needs afterwards only tell them, *This is a Meeting-House, here liveth a Dissenter* : They are not so dull as to fail of making the Conclusion, *Therefore this House is to be Pull'd down, therefore this Man is to be Plunder'd*, and of putting it immediately in Execution where they dare.

Suppose such a Man should in Defence of himself say, I did not bid them Pull down this House, nor Rifle that, my telling them, all *Meeting Houses were to be Pull'd down, all Dissenters to be Marked and Plundered*, was Four Months before I told them *this was a Meeting House, or that Man a Dissenter*; and to carry back a Mans words spoke only by way of Information, to what was said Four Months before by way of Doctrine, is the greatest Hardship in the World.

Would this pass for an Excuse ? Or would it not add to the Indignation against so impertinent a Trifler on so sad an occasion ?

There is I confess unquestion'd Truth, good Sense, and admirable Reason in this Observation ; I only wish there had been a little more Charity or good Nature in the intended Application.

This I hope is so good Authority with you at least, that neither you nor your Friends will say any more,

more, that you only deliver plain matter of Fact; it is none of your fault that Men will be so unlucky in their Applications: for if you put things together in such a manner, as that it is impossible for Men not to Reason and Argue on them just in that Method you design'd, it is all one as if you had argued Syllogistically in Mode and Figure.

But to put this matter past all dispute, I will venture to affirm, and undertake to prove, that you have advanced and endeavour'd to maintain that the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience was the Instrument wherewith the Clergy of Sweden Ruined the Liberties of their People.*

Next I will shew, that you have not proved this: nor indeed could.

Thirdly, That you have given very sufficient Intimations, for any one to take the hint, and apply all your Libel to our own Nation, without the Breach of Charity, or true Reasoning.

On these Points Sir, with some other incidental Matters that may offer, I shall expostulate with you very freely and very seriously.

First, That you have Advanced and Endeavour'd to Maintain, that the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience was the Instrument wherewith the Clergy of Sweden Ruined the Liberties of the People*, is so plain to any one that has read your Letter with the least Attention, that none I believe ever question'd it: however, to prevent all Cavils or Subterfuges, I shall produce a few Instances in proof of my Assertion.

Page 12. You have these words: *To effect which, (viz. to ruin the Old Counsellors, and the Constitution, and to make the King above the Law, and entirely Absolute) this Doctrine of the Kings receiving his Crown from God, was upon this Occasion, contrived by the Court and Clergy, tho' it had never been heard of in Sweden till then.*

Page 16. Are these words. *This Constitution which had cost so much Blood and Treasure, was entirely Confounded and Destroyed by one Treacherous Parliament in Three Sessions, and this purely by establishing the Doctrine*

Doctrine of the King's being accountable to none but God.

P. 18. Are these words. *The King had hitherto shewn an Exemplary Piety and Religious Disposition in all his Actions: But it was no sooner declared that he was accountable to none but God, but he imagining (as one would think) that there was no God, and consequently no account now to be given at all, became one of the most unjust and cruel Princes that ever lived.*

But here give me leave to stand a while amazed at your Insincerity and Falsehood: Does this become a Gentleman, a Scholar, and a Christian? Had a Clergyman thus prevaricated, how many Jesuits and hard Names would he have been call'd? Is it not enough to Insult over this Worthy Author with all your scornful Mocks and unmannerly Scoffs, but must you too Abuse him? Father on him Falsehood, Lies, and Calumny?

Your Quotation stands thus; Account of Sweden, p. 79. *The King had hitherto, &c.* Now one would have expected the Character of Nero or Tiberius at least, when so far from it, that let any one read that excellent Account, he will there find the Picture of a very good Prince for four Pages together. There's not the least mention that the King *had hitherto been, &c.* but in the Present Tense he possesses many Excellent and Princely Qualities, &c. to page 82. I profess I was startled at this Shameful Insincerity. But to go on.

Page 21. Are these words. *I wish those Persons who are so violent for this Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and unlimited Monarchy, had seen what a miserable condition this Kingdom I am speaking of has been brought into (in a small space of time) since that Doctrine was establish'd in it.*

This very Sentence (as to its sense) is pursued with variety of Expressions in a very Pathetic Address to the Peers, the Ladies, the Gentry, the Citizens, and Commonalty of Great Britain: Passive Obedience is the Burthen of that lamentable Ditty; and thus is a poor innocent primitive Doctrine made the Cause of all the Mischief that ill nature can heap together.

But

But I must not loose my hold yet of these Ingenuous Quotations, page 23. at bottom, and page 24. You have these lines Sir.

‘ But what I with the most of all is, that the Inferior Order of Gentlemen and the common People, who enjoy great Priviledges, have their Properties secured to them by good Laws, and have plenty of all that’s necessary, had but seen a Yeomanry and Common-People, who not long ago had a Right of Chooing Representatives in *Account of* Parliament, of being tryed by a Jury *Sweden, p.* of Twelve Men, and paying only such *117. p. 40.* Taxes as they consented to: but who at present pay often greater Taxes than the Yearly Value of their Farms, are Hang’d and Punish’d just as the Governour has a mind to it; and for Subsistence for their Families, *Page 4.* are forced to grind the Bark of Trees to mix up with their Corn for Bread. Had they seen all this inexpressible Misery of their fellow Creatures, who knew nothing of such Circumstances, till the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Divine Right of Kings was Establish’d in their Land, &c. *Page 26.* Are these words: *Sho’d it be objected here, that this however is but one Instance of the sad Effects of this Doctrine.*

I shall trouble my self and Reader with but one Quotation more, *Page 33. 34.*

‘ So ’tis to be hoped that the Two Examples above mentioned, will convince every one among us of the *pernicious Consequences of their detestable Principles*: for to say a word or two more on this weighty Subject, what is here offer d is not Argument, but matter of Fact.

‘ This is what a great many People in *England* have seen, and what any one may know and see when he has a mind to it. These People enjoyed the Benefits of the Protestant Religion, and had it secured to them, were possessed of great Priviledges and a perfect Liberty: They had *Triennial Parliaments*, and Kings governing according to Law: They may
‘ say

‘ say to us what *St. Paul* wish’d of *Agrippa*, and the
 ‘ rest that heard him, they *were almost and altogether*
 ‘ *such as we are*, and had remain’d so till this day, had
 ‘ it not been for *these Bonds of Passive Obedience and*
 ‘ *Divine Right*.

‘ So that to close what I have offer’d on this Head,
 ‘ without disputing with a certain great *Lawyer*,
 ‘ whether the *Hoadleian Distinctions* would devour all
 ‘ *Allegiance*, ’tis evident beyond all Contradiction,
 ‘ that this general *Passive Obedience* has devoured all
 ‘ *these Peoples Happiness*. And if these Examples will
 ‘ not make others see their Danger, such Persons as
 ‘ remain still blind, are resolved not to open their
 ‘ Eyes till they *lift ’em up in Torment*; and are deter-
 ‘ min’d to Sacrifice all that’s dear to them in the
 ‘ World, to this Joyless Ejaculation, *who would have*
 ‘ *thought it*.

‘ I hope *God Almighty* will preserve our *Queen* for
 ‘ a Blessing to this Nation; and that a *True British*
 ‘ *Parliament*, will in their Great Wisdom think fit to
 ‘ put an End to a *Doctrine* that has put an End to
 ‘ all the other *Parliaments* in the known World.

This one Quotation Sir I think may very justly put
 an End to my Proof of the first Head: That you
 have advanced and endeavoured to maintain, that the
 Doctrine of Passive Obedience was the Instrument
 wherewith the Clergy of *Sweden* Ruined the Liberties
 of their People.

Can words be plainer, than yours are, to this Por-
 pose? Can there be any occasion to Descant on them?
 You have affirm’d what you call matter of Fact, you
 have argued from this Fact, nay, you have applyed
 this Fact; can a conclusion from Premises be drawn
 up in stricter form than may be seen in these words.

‘ So that to close what I have offer’d on this Head,
 ‘ ’tis evident beyond contradiction, that this general
 ‘ *Passive Obedience* has devour’d all these Peoples Hap-
 ‘ *piness*.

If this be not arguing, then we have been all this
 while in the dark when we have been Auditors of Dis-
 putations: and none have known the secret of Ar-
 guing

guing but the Ingenious Mr. *Benson*. Is it nothing but plain down right matter of Fact, to Publish your Hopes, that a true British Parliament will put an End to this Doctrine, that has put an End to all other Parliaments in the World? This methinks is as close an Application as words can make.

If this be to offer plain matter of Fact without Argument, then will I forswear ever pretending to know what was design'd for Argument, and what for Narration. I desire Sir you would not mistake me, when I call it Argument, as if I acknowledged it to be true and just Reasoning, (which indeed is the same as Argument) for I assure you I mean no more by Argument, than that you intended it for such; that you hoped it would pass for such with your unwary Readers, and that you modelled your thoughts, on purpose to put 'em off under the appearance of a relation of Fact. There are Sophistical Arguments and Conclusive ones; that yours are the first I hope to evince by and by.

In the mean while I beg you to go back with me in a few Reflections on those Quotations which I have made from your Letter, and that we may not lose our selves in the ramble, be pleased to follow me in order retrograde,

You say, 'these People *Enjoyed* the Benefits of the Protestant Religion, and *had* it Secured to them, &c. and had remain'd so till this day, had it not been for these Bonds of Passive Obedience and Divine Right. What now can be the meaning of this *Enjoyed*, and *had Secured*, but to give Men ground to suppose that neither *Sweden* nor *Denmark* do at present enjoy, or have the Protestant Religion secured to them? How many a Reader may be led aside to think that Popery came in with Tyranny, and all the Benefits of the Reformation were lost with their Liberties? Oh shameful Collusion and Deceit! Do not the *Swedes* and *Danes* enjoy the Protestant Religion at this Day? And is it not secured as much as is possible in an Arbitrary Government? These Bonds of Passive Obedience and Divine Right, have not yet brought in those severer Shackles and Manacles of *Romish* Ty-

ranny and Usurpation : Why then these People did Enjoy, and had it Secured ? Is not this all one to an honest Man, as if he had said they do not *now* enjoy, they have not *now* secured to them the Protestant Religion ? Really Sir, I am ashamed almost to urge this foul dealing, with half that warmth my Resentment and Indignation prompts me to.

I beg your Company to run over with me that Quotation beginning with these words : *But what I wish the most of all, &c.* Here your Quotation stands thus : Account of Sweden, p. 117 p. 40. five lines lower, p. 4. Now from the very first view of this, any considerate Reader would expect some Fraud or Fallacy, to see such distant Pages join'd together : and he would not be deceived at all in his Suspicion.

For let him compare your words with the Places quoted, and he must be surprized, though ever so much your friend at your Insincerity. Over against Page 117. Page 40. ' The Yeomanry and Common People, *not long ago, had a Right of Choosing Representatives in Parliament, of being tryed by a Jury of Twelve Men, and paying only such Taxes as they consented to.*

Now I turn'd to the Page quoted 117, but not one word of *not long ago had a Right* ; so far from it, that we find there in the Present Tense, ' the Nobility and Gentry *are* Represented, &c. The Representatives of the Burghers *are Chosen* by the Magistrates and Common Council of each Corporation, of which Stockholm sends Four, others Two, and some One, who make about One Hundred and Fifty.

' The Peasants of each District, Choose one of their own Quality to appear for them, whose Charges they bear, and give him Instructions in such Matters as they think need Redress : They are about Two Hundred and Fifty.

' It's true indeed, that Reverend Author tells us in the beginning of the Chapter, that the Boundless Liberality of the Three Last Sessions of the States, has left that Body little more than its ancient Name ; but what is this to the Sincerity of your Quotation ? For who ever is honest in quoting another Author,

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ought certainly to give us the very words before he comments on them.

‘ At Page 40. in the account we find indeed, that
‘ the Ancient Custom of a Jury of Twelve Men, is
‘ at present disused every where, except only in the
‘ Lower Courts in the Country : But as for *paying only
such Taxes as they consented to*, is no where to be found
in that or any Neighbouring Page.

*But who at present pay often greater Taxes than the
Yearly value of their Farms, are hanged and punished
just as the Governour has a mind to it :* These words,
nor any like them, no where occur through the whole
Account, but are merely the overflowings of your own
good Nature.

*And for Subsistence for their Families, are forced to
grind the Bark of Trees to mix up with their Corn for
Bread.* These words, or rather their Substance, are
I confess in the account, but to your Shame Sir, if you
have not abandoned all Sense or Modetty : For does
not the Author plainly tell us, it is for want of In-
dustry that they are reduced to such Streights, and
these are only the *Poorest* sort remote from Traffick ?
But not the least whisper or hint, as if this was owing
to Passive Obedience.

I protest, I never in all my Life have been so much
put to it to keep my Temper ; had I not resolved on
the contrary, I would give some little vent to my
swelling spleen : I never saw so much Disingenuity in
any one that bears the Character of a Gentleman ;
after this way of Writing, by joining broken pieces of
Sentences together, by taking a line out of one Page,
two out of another, and four out of a third, without
regarding their original Coherence, we might make
the Holy Scriptures Blaspheme their Author, Deny
the Creation, Ridicule the Trinity, and make a Ban-
ner of Christianity. For shame Sir, Blush at these
Scandalous, Ungentleman like Tricks and Artifices.

Your Quotation at Page 18. I have already touched
upon, where instead of a *Caligula* or *Domitian*, we
find an Excellent Prince scarce defective in any one
Royal Virtue or Quality.

Page 15. You have these words. *This Parliament*

was made up of Noble Men that depended on the Court and Officers of the Army, and Commons under the entire Management of the Clergy. For which you quote p. 95. *Account of Sweden.*

I examined that Page with all the diligence I was able : I there found indeed, ' That the Nobility and ' Gentry universally depended on the King, and not ' being able to subsist upon their own private Fortunes, without some Additional Office, were under ' a necessity to comply with every thing rather than ' hazard their present Employment or future Hopes ' of Advancement : But for the Commons being under the entire Management of the Clergy, not the least word appears in this, the foregoing, or following Page.

And here I desire to be inform'd, what is the Mystery of writing Words or Lines in different Characters : I used to fancy, that when we saw a Sentence wrote in the same Characters, that whole Sentence was taken out of the Author Quoted : But your work has convinc'd me of the Folly of that Conceit.

I profess I am quite tired of pursuing you thus Page after Page, when I can scarce find any one Quotation made with Honesty or Sincerity : I have compared every one taken (or rather pretended to be taken) from the *Account of Sweden*, and can say, I have scarce met with one fairly represented, so as to speak the Author's Sense, or as to be consistent with their Original Design ; but there is continually some Alterations, Misapplications, or unnatural Constructions of the Plainest, Simplest, Sincerest, most Ingenuous Narrative we have in our Tongue.

And here Sir I confess I neither have, nor will Collate your other Quotations ; for should I meet with the same unhandsome dealing in them, I should lose my Charity as I have already my Patience. If you please, you may reckon some of these last Pages as a Digression, and turn them over as such ; while I endeavour to make out my Second Position.

That though you have advanced and endeavoured to maintain, that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience was the Instrument wherewith the Clergy of *Sweden* Ruin'd the Liberties of their People ; yet you neither have, nor could prove this. And

And here I shall not take the Advantage of you as I justly might, when in one place you say, Slavery was the *Effects* of this Doctrine, for where ever there are *Effects*, there we must enquire for the Efficient Cause; if then Slavery was the *Effects* of Passive Obedience, then must Passive Obedience be the *Efficient* Cause of their Slavery; which is a Position so extravagant, that none I believe will be hardy enough to undertake its Proof.

In another place you call that Peoples Miseries, the pernicious *Consequences* of those detestable Principles: Now when one thing is called the *Consequence* of another, it is generally meant, that this follows from that as an Effect from it's Cause, or as a Conclusion from its Premises: Now this you can't have proved, because you say you have not offer'd Argument but Fact.

But however, we will allow you that Latitude of Speech which a Gentleman may use, without being tyed up to the strict Rules and Terms of Logic: And here suppose you to have intended no more, than that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, was the chief Instrument wherewith the Liberty of the *Swedish* Subjects was destroyed. None I believe have read your Letter without thinking you have asserted this in as plain terms as is needful for a Man of common sense.

But now have you proved this by Reason or Authority? Have you shewn the natural Tendency of this Doctrine towards the Enslaving of a People? Or have you quoted Authors of good Credit (to whose Judgment and Veracity we may trust) who affirm that *Sweden* lost its Liberty, *Exclusively* by this Doctrine?

As for the Reason of this Question, you have professedly declined it: let us then examine into your proof of the Fact. If there be any proof it must lie in these Quotations: In your Letter Sir, page 16. the matter stands thus.

Page 93. ' A Court Parliament declared, that his Majesty who received his Crown from God, was only
' accountable to God for his Actions, and tyed by no
' other Engagements, than what his Coronation Oath
' Imported, namely, to Rule the Kingdom according
' to Law. I

I profess for my part, I can see nothing in these lines so terrible as to make me tremble, or almost dread to Transcribe them ; I believe Mr. *Hoadly* himself would make no great Scruple to Subscribe his sincere Assent to them, having said over and over again, that a King while he Rules according to Law, is all that while invested with Divine Authority, and consequently all that while (at least) Accountable to none but God for his Actions. I confess the following lines are a little formidable.

‘ In the next Session the Article of Ruling the Kingdom according to Law, was explain’d ;
Page 107. ‘ and the *Parliament* declar’d, that his Majesty was not tyed to the Laws then in
 ‘ being, but might alter the same, and add thereto
 ‘ such Constructions as he thought fit.

This indeed was Home work, and in Effect, a throwing up their Liberty : but who in the mean time were these Traytors to their Country ? none less than the Lords, the whole body of Nobility, which by the Account might be a Thousand.

Page 117. The Clergy, which made but about Two Hundred, the Burghers, who were about One Hundred and Fifty, and the Peasants about Two Hundred and Fifty.

So that granting the Clergy had a hand in making *Sweden* an Absolute Monarchy, since there were but 200 out of 1600, what could they have done, had they been never so Zealous and Industrious to oppose it ? I can’t see how they could have prevented it, except many of each sortment would have come over to them : Nay, we can’t be sure that the Clergy did readily give in to this new Scheme ; had they unanimously Voted against it, they must have been included in the Majority : and as the Case stands, the Nobility, Soldierly, Gentry, and Peasantry, are all involved in the same Guilt with their Irresolute Clergy.

But perhaps you will say, tho’ these two Places make nothing against the Clergy, yet have I some lines in reserve, that will be an unanswerable proof of their Cowardice and Perfidy. Those you give us *pag. 25.* in this manner. *But still their chief Dependance lies in*
this

this following Passage, which I shall quote entire from the worthy Divine so often mentioned : I am obliged to you Sir, for the Entireness or Integrity of this Quotation, I only wish you had observ'd the same Method in all the rest, you would have spared your own Modesty, and saved me the trouble of detecting your Fraud. But this you think so clinching, that it wants no Varnish or Repairing. However, I shall without startling, give it very fairly, just as I find it in your Letter. 'Tis in the 111th, and 112th Pages of his Account of Sweden.

' Yet all this Power and Provision, is not by the Court it self thought sufficient to keep an oppressed People from Disorders ; nor would it likely long do so, if the King did not by his great Applications and Differences, Court the *Clergy*, and by no small degrees of compliance with them, not only in Ecclesiastical but Civil Affairs, cultivate their Fidelity and Affection ; and this, because the *Priests* have very great and uncontrollable Interest and Authority among the common People (who only can make Disturbances) and can at their Pleasure Inflame or Appease them.

Come Sir, I will give you leave to plume your self in this happy Quotation, I will wait your Patience a little, I'll follow you in your Triumphs, and joyn in your Self-Appause : If this Evidence say you, *is not sufficient to silence and convince all Gain-Sayers, I don't know what can do it.* Why ! that's very true Sir, it's very plain you don't know, for I assure you, as it has not convinced me, so neither shall it silence me. But to please you, I will give my self the trouble of Transcribing your subtle Arguing on it, and then your Congratulatory Hymns to your imaginary Victory

You tell us here you have it *ex ore Episcopi*, out of the mouth of a Bishop, and a true Church Bishop. (Are these Sir the returns for those many Civilities you met with in your Travels from that Worthy Gentleman ? His Lordship I am sure would scorn to upbraid you with them) That a People who are Oppressed after the most Barbarous manner, could not be kept from rising to deliver themselves out of their intolerable Slavery by
Soldiers,

Soldiers, Governours, Laws, and Oaths ; did not the Clergy assist their Tyrant in maintaining his Infernal Dominion over his unhappy Subjects, in consideration of the Court that is made to them (the Clergy and Priests) not only in Ecclesiastical, but also in Civil Matters.

And now for your *Io Triumphe !*
Dr. Robinson, ‘ Give Ear O Oxford to this, the last
Created a Dr. ‘ and best of all thy Modern Doctors,
last Summer at ‘ hearken to one of your Beloved Bi-
Oxford. ‘ shops, and observe, that his Lord-

‘ ship has not spoke this of a ‘opish
 ‘ or Fanatic Clergy and Priests, but of a Protestant
 ‘ and Lutheran Clergy and Priests ; that Clergy, and
 ‘ those Priests who come the nearest to our genuine
 ‘ Clergy and Priests of all the Ecclesiastical Orders
 ‘ in *Christendome*.

And now attend to this Great Divine and Able
 Statesman : ‘ Oh ! Unwary common People ! You,
 ‘ over whom the Priests have such uncontrollable
 ‘ Power, behold the use they make when it lies in
 ‘ their way, of the Interest and Authority they have
 ‘ over you, namely, to make themselves consider’d by
 ‘ the Court, and to keep you chain’d down in Eter-
 ‘ nal Bondage to a Tyrant.

Is this Oratory or Logic, Argument or Fact ? It is
 a very odd stile wherein to express Fact, and very
 Fallacious, if design’d for Argument. For there is not
 any one Inference that you have made, that can by the
 Rules of Logic be deduced from the place above cited.

It’s true, the Clergy may have Power to keep an
 Oppress’d People from *Disorders* : The Priests may
 by their Interest with the common People, at their
 pleasure, *Inflame* or *Appease* them : this is all those
 words will yield ; wrest, and squeeze, and torture
 them never so unmercifully.

But does it follow, that because the Clergy can keep
 an Oppressed People from *Disorders*, therefore they
 could redeem them from their Thralldome ; or like
Moses and *Aaron*, lead ’em out of the House of Bon-
 dage ? Liberty does not always follow *Disorders*, nor
 is *Slavery* always shak’d off by Popular *Tumults* and
Insurrections. Granting therefore that the Priests
 could

could *Enflame* the Common People, is it any consequence that they could restore them to their Rights and Liberty? And then shall they be Taxed with Perfidy and Treachery, that they do not *Enflame* the People? Or shall they not rather be commended for persuading them to be easie and quiet under their Misfortunes, since they may by struggling, only tye their Cords of Bondage in streighter Knots, and lose the very shadow of their Liberty, which is some comfort to them who have parted with the Substance.

I wonder Sir what you would have said to *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*, had you lived in their days? For if your Representation of the Kingdom of *Sweden* be to be Credited, the *Romans* in their time were much in the same Condition as the *Swedes* are now.

Whoever was the Emperor in the Apostles Times, it's certain, he was in Fact an Usurper on the Peoples Rights and Liberties, tho' in shew, the Senate had deliver'd them up voluntarily as a free Gift, he made a mere Cypher of the Senate, and maintain'd his Usurpation, by Standing Legions and *Pratorian* Cohorts: yet did the Holy Spirit enjoin Subjection to these Higher Powers, and the Apostles endeavour'd to prevent all Disorders, to *Appease*, and not *Enflame* the People.

And is not the Case the same in *Sweden*, even according to your own account? Has not that Senate thrown up their Liberty, devolved the whole Government on the King? Is he not yet (in your Opinion) an Usurper? Does he not however keep up his Parliament? And withal, does he not Support his Tyranny by a Standing Army? *Ex ore tuo te Judicabo*: Out of thine own mouth will I convince thee.

Be pleased to look towards the bottom of your 24th page, there are these very remarkable words. The King, my Lord Bishop tells us, *knows very well how to make himself obey'd*. The next Sir (pray remember it) are your own words; that is, *he has made Soldiers of one half of his People, to keep t'other half in good Order*.

And who now I pray you Sir are they, that keep this Miserable People in Subjection? Has not the Nobility, the Commonalty, and the Peasantry, devolved the whole trust on their King? Have they not made him Arbitrary

and Absolute, by Laws of their own Enacting? Does he not maintain this Arbitrary and Absolute Power, by numerous Forces? Even as numerous as the one half of his People?

And what now must the poor Unfortunate Clergy do? All that they can do, as far as I can find, is to raise *Disorders* in the Nation, to *Enflame* the Common People, and *Disturb* the present Government.

But has not blowing the Trumpet been of late sufficiently Exploded and Condemn'd? Have you not had your Belly full of Popular Tumults and Riots? How have our own Clergy been falsely Censured and Upbraided with those Risings and Disorders of the Mob, who were really grieved for such Illegal Proceedings, and at most, were only the innocent Occasion (not so much as the Instrumental Causes) of those Routs? And yet shall the Clergy of *Sweden* be charged with all the Tyranny and Oppression of their People, because they dare not venture making *Disorders* instead of redressing their Grievances, *Enflaming* the People for fear of a National Conflagration.

So much resolved you seem to be, to Quarrel with the Clergy right or wrong: The *Swedish* Clergy Assist their Tyrants, and so are Traytors to their Country, because they don't run the risque of their own Lives and Fortunes, and hazard the Peace of the Kingdom, by perswading the People to shake off their Fetters: The *English* Clergy are Incendiaries if they open their Lips on Politics, even tho' it be to Preach Obedience to the best Government on Earth.

But after all, if you are really offended with the *Swedish* Clergy for their Peaceable Submissive Tameness, and are truly concern'd for their abject Spirit, in suffering their fellow Subjects to lye thus supinely under the intollerable Burden of Servitude and Oppression, if you are deeply affected with their Misery, then will I make a fair Proposal to you.

Perswade Mr. *Hoadly*, or (because he is infirm, not fit for so long a Voyage) prevail with your good Friend and Neighbour, Mr. *Fox*, (for he is lusty and strong) to go on Pilgrimage to that Northern Clime, to propagate the Liberty of the Gospel, to rouse their Native
Valour,

Valour, to inspire Courage in that warlike Race, to animate their dejected Hopes, and to revive the excellent Spirit of a Free-born People : and here Sir I promise you to joyn in that Noble Gallant Undertaking, to partake of all his Troubles, Dangers, and even Death it self, in hopes that I may also partake of the Immortal Honour and Eternal Glory of so Heroic an Exploit.

But this you will perhaps look on as Banter ; why, it is but fair ; here have we been banter'd all along with a kind of Proof that *Sweden* owes all its Misery to an inoffensive Doctrine, which it is the Duty of that Clergy to Preach, when in the event it appears, that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience was not the Cause, but rather the consequence of the Peoples Slavery.

The People had lost, or rather had fairly given up their Liberty ; this their Gift, the King holds fast, with an hundred thousand hands, the Clergy think the People ought not, or at least, without the greatest danger, are not able to reassume their Gift, therefore very honestly and friendly, perswade them to be quiet, to obey chearfully, and to make the best of their hard Condition. If this be not a fair Representation of the Case, I desire to be better inform'd, and promise on Conviction, to own my self mistaken.

Is not this sufficient to make out my Second Position, that you have not proved that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, was the Instrument wherewith the Clergy of *Sweden* ruin'd the Liberties of their People ? If not, for farther Satisfaction, I will give you Sir a faithful Account, how, and by what means, that People lost their Liberty : I call it Sir a faithful Account, because you have all along owned the Authority and Fidelity of that Writer, whence I shall Extract my Narration.

The King was no sooner Crown'd, than that he found himself Embarassed in the greatest Difficulties of Government ; every thing during the Administration in his Minority, had run to Ruin ; tho' the Old Ministry had brought him into a very dangerous and heavy War, yet had they made no necessary Preparations for it, Magazines empty ; Fortifications impaired, or taken ; Forces few, scatter'd, and scarce Disciplin'd ; an Enemy pierced deep into his Kingdom ; the Treasury Poor, and in short,

every thing in such a condition, as would have made a less Gallant Soul than that Prince, Ingloriously sue for a Peace.

So far from any such ungenerous Treaty, was that Brave Hero, that with an handful of Men, purely by his own Personal Courage and Conduct, He Retrieved the Glory of his Nation, Repell'd the Invader, and Triumphantly surmounted these threatening Difficulties.

On strength of this Victory, while his Officers and Soldiers were endeared to him for so much Virtue and so much Success, he calls the Old Ministry to Account, Assembles his Senate, and lays the weak State of the Nation before them, shewing them the Dangers to which of late they had been exposed, by the Carelessness and Sloth of the Administrators in his Minority.

The Guilt of some, the Hopes of other, and Gratitude of all, had so powerful an Influence on the whole Parliament, that they thought they could not make sufficient Returns, to so Good, so Wise, Valiant and Fortunate a Prince, except they gave him their All, and made him Absolute.

He receives the Gift with Thanks and Approbation, and that he might secure it from being resumed, knowing the inconstancy of a fickle mutinous People, instead of Disbanding his Army, he Increas'd it, Man'd all his Garrisons, and Canton'd the Soldiery over all his Kingdom, till at last he had made *Soldiers of one half of his People, to keep the other half in good Order.*

And that he might effectually keep them in good order, he shew'd himself kind and obliging to his Clergy, (of whom former Princes had not been very tender) that he might thereby gain their Fidelity and Affection, and they in return might endeavour to keep the People from Disorders, might appease all Murmurings and Discontent, and by their Interest and Authority, prevent their being Enslam'd.

If this be not a fair honest Account of that Revolution in *Sweden*, whereby the King became Arbitrary, then will I own my self guilty of misrepresenting the Truth, and abusing that worthy Author ; but that my own word may not be taken, I beg the Reader to peruse the 9th Chapter of the Account of *Sweden*, and then he will say

say that Passive Obedience had little, or (rather) nothing to do with that mighty Alteration.

And this I think may very sufficiently evince, that you neither have, nor could have made it out, that Passive Obedience was the chief Instrument wherewith the *Swedish* Clergy Ruin'd the Liberties of the People : for in truth, it was so far from being the Chief, that it was no Instrument at all in the matter : No, they were much sharper Tools Sir, they were your own *Muskets, Pikes, and Halbards*, Regiments, Troops, and Companies, a Standing Army, Guilt and Fear on one side, Hopes and Repentment on the other, that gave this Fortunate Prince such an Advantage over his People : (and therefore I hope, that neither your self, nor Friends, will *again* Vote and Write for the Maintenance of our Victorious Forces, after the War is concluded, no Standing Army good Sir ; Disband, Disband as soon as ever a Peace is Concluded, and reward the brave Souls in another manner, than to put it in their power to Enslave their fellow Subjects : There are no better Soldiers in the World for *Flanders* and *Germany*, than our gallant *Britains*, but they are indifferent Inmates in our Towns and Villages : you understand me Sir I hope.)

And now if this Evidence be not sufficient to silence and convince all Gain-sayers, I don't know what can do it ; since here you have had proof from your own words, and those Writings which you all along allow to be Authentic, that it was not the Doctrine of Passive Obedience that Destroy'd the Liberties of the Swedish Nation.

I have made one proposal to you already, and now I'll make another or two. Tho' you have not *totidem verbis*, affirm'd, that Passive Obedience must destroy a Peoples Liberty, yet have you said enough to tell every one, that this is your Opinion, and therefore I desire you, or any of your Friends, roundly to assert, that this Doctrine does necessarily destroy the Rights and Liberties of a People ; you, or your Friend, shall take the Affirmative, and I will take the Negative ; you shall be the *Opponent*, and I'll be the *Respondent* : digest your Discourse into an Argumentative Method, and let us fairly try the strength of each others Reasoning, if not, the

the merits of the Cause : I say, you must affirm, that Passive Obedience does *necessarily* destroy, &c. or else, your Arguments will not be sufficiently Conclusive.

But in the next place, if you are resolved only to shew that this Doctrine may possibly destroy our Liberty, then will I affirm, that Passive Obedience may possibly not destroy our Liberty.

But Thirdly, the great Dispute I take to be between Passive Obedience and Resistance, and therefore what ever you shall please to affirm of the first, the same will I affirm of the other : Let therefore our several Positions, if you please, stand thus.

Opponent. The Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* does necessarily destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Respondent. The Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* does not necessarily destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Opp. This Doctrine may possibly destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Resp. This Doctrine may possibly not destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Opp. This Doctrine has sometimes destroy'd a *Peoples Liberty*.

To this I oppose Two Propositions.

Resp. 1 This Doctrine has sometimes not destroyed a *Peoples Liberty*.

2. This Doctrine has never of it self destroy'd a *Peoples Liberty*.

But if you please that we may more narrowly enter into the merits of the Cause, let the whole Dispute be between *Passive Obedience* and *Resistance*, and then the Propositions I think ought to stand thus.

Opp. The Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* does necessarily destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Resp. The Doctrine of *Resistance* does necessarily destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Opp. The Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* may possibly destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Resp. The Doctrine of *Resistance* may possibly destroy a *Peoples Liberty*.

Opp. The Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* has sometimes destroy'd a *Peoples Liberty*.

Resp.

Resp. The Doctrine of *Resistance* has sometimes destroyed a *Peoples Liberty*.

And this Sir I take to be very fair play ; this is to measure our Swords, and to engage with equal Weapons : Were not the matter in Dispute to be fairly stated, we should thus Quarrel and Wrangle, and never come to an end : we may compare many controversial Writers to Boys playing at Blind Mans Buff, they snap and catch at one another, and often know not whom they have caught at last. Men Write and Dispute, and both sides drop the Truth between them ; they Argue and Quarrel, and when they come to know one anothers minds, they are very well agreed, and both confess they only disputed for want of a better understanding between them.

And therefore though I may be thought to have made a bold Challenge, yet can't I fear to make good my undertaking, when I profess, I do engage my self to maintain my Propositions, in no other manner, than my Adversary (whoever he shall be) shall do his : As for Instance, should he affirm that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience has sometimes destroyed a *Peoples Liberty*, then for proof of this, should produce some Testimonies from History, that this Doctrine was Preach'd at such a time in such a Nation, and afterwards the People lost their Liberty. Then will I produce from History of equal Authority, that in that or another Nation, at such a time, the Doctrine of Resistance was Preach'd, and afterwards, that People lost their Liberty. Now this is all I will oblige my self to, to maintain my Positions in the same method of Reasoning, as does my Antagonist ; tho' this I'll promise into the Bargain, that I will expose his Fallacies if I can find them out, and pursue him through all his Erronious Mazes and Windings, I will then shew him his own Arguments as they are applicable to my Position, and thereby perhaps convince him of their weakness. With this Proviso then, I care not which Proposition any one shall choose to try their strength on ; they know my Proposals, and I will promise to stand to them.

It's very likely this method may look too Scholastic and Pedantic ; I shall therefore in humble Imitation of
fo

so great a Genius, endeavour to refresh my Self and Reader with a short Declamation.

And here *I could wish, that those British Peers who enjoy the high Honours due to their Birth and Quality, the great Estates that have been left them by their Ancestors, or acquired by their Valour; the fine Palaces themselves or their Fathers have Built, in which they live, with a becoming Pomp and Splendor: I could wish they had seen, or (because that can't be) that they would call to Mind some other Noblemen (even no less than their own great Progenitors) who Seventy Years ago, enjoy'd all the Blessings they themselves now possess, but immediately on the Preaching the Doctrine of Resistance, and that their Prince was accountable to his People, had their Estates taken from them, their Palaces, (some of which exceeded in Magnificence most we have in London at this day) let to Shop-keepers for Warehouses; others in the Country, turn'd to Garrisons, their Estates Plunder'd and Sequester'd, their Birth and Quality despised to that degree, that every Officer had Precedence before the Noblest Peer, even sometimes before them that were Dignify'd with a Military Employment, their Persons Prescribed, Slain in the Field, and Murder'd on the Scaffolds; their whole Body Voted useless to the Nation, and degraded from their Birth Rights: First, their very Peerage Condemn'd, and then those brave gallant Souls expos'd to all the Insolence and Contumely of the Brutal Populace. Would but these Noblemen consider, that their Loyal Virtuous Ancestors were as Great, Rich, and Happy as themselves before the Doctrine of Resistance was Proclaim'd, and the Principles of Government resolved into the Consent and Approbation of the People, I fancy the Promoter of the same Doctrine, in these our own Days, would not be received with so much Applause, and caress'd with so much Fondness.*

I should be pleas'd, if those Ladys who live in the greatest State and Splendor, would turn over the Registers of time, and there behold that entire Desolation and Ruin, which was brought upon every thing that was Pompous, Gay, or Pleasant: but I would rather desire, were not the Scene too Melancholy for their good Nature, Tenderness and Melting Softness, that they would call
to

to mind those *Piercing Sighs, Flowing Tears, and Panting Hearts*, which were the daily Tryals of that Sex, when they saw their Expiring Lords, or Breathless Sons, sometimes receiving their fatal Wounds in the Field of Battle, sometimes dismembred by the Prophane Hands of the Executioner, brought to their sorrowing Homes, weltring in their own Gore, having freely devoted their Lives, spent their Fortunes, and ruined their Families in the Service of their God, their King and Country: Would but these *poor tender hearted Creatures*, give themselves the mortification of looking back on those Bloody Tragedys, I am verily perswaded, they will for ever forswear stripping themselves again of their Ear-rings, Necklaces, and Bracelets, to carry on a Cause of so much Murder, Wickedness and Horror.

I wish besides the Right Reverend Bench of Bishops, who now possess their Dignity in the Church, and their Honours in the State which are due to their Piety, Learning, and Wisdom, would call to mind the Tumults, and Dangers to which their worthy Predecessors were exposed by the unlawful Resistance of the People, how the Rabble were taught to Vilify their Office, and Insult their Persons, how they were excluded the House of Peers, and for remonstrating against the Injury, hall'd away to Jail: How some were Murder'd, others Imprisoned, and others Forced into an Inglorious Exile; how exactly verified was King James's Maxim; *No Bishop, no King*: How soon follow'd the Murder of the King, after the Destruction of his faithful Servants the *Bishops*: Whenever they cast back their Eyes on that Horrible Score of Years which Commenced at 1640. I am satisfied, those venerable Prelates must be Applauded, who were willing to overlook some Indiscretions in a Person, who had shewn himself so Zealous in opposing a Doctrine which had ruined the whole Hierarchy.

I wish, that Gentlemen who have ample Estates, and all that is requisite for their Pleasures, had seen Persons (even their own Parents) of the like Condition, who in the memory of some (tho' indeed they must be pretty Old) lived as much at their Ease as these do now; but soon after, were driven from the Seats of their Ancestors, and their Lands Parcelled out amongst such and such Regiments of Horse and Foot; and if you should enquire for the Lord of the Mannor,

'tis probable you might hear he was bearing a Musquet in Defence of his Prince and his own Rights, laid up in some close Imprisonment, or Executed for his Loyalty : Had they seen all this, I believe none of those Country Gentlemen would at all repent of their Joy for the light punishment of a Clergy Man, one of whose chiefest Crimes seems to have been his zealous Defence of this exploded Doctrine, and his warm Resentments of those Injuries, which both Church and State had received by the contrary Tenets.

I wish too, that those Citizens who find the Advantages of a great Trade and free Commerce, had seen (or at least would from faithful History represent to their mind) a City which not long before, had several considerable Merchants and Rich Burghers, reduced by the confusion of those times, almost to Beggary, while it look'd like a Conquer'd Town, every Street garrison'd with Armed Soldiers, the Churches turn'd into Forts or Stables, the Citizens Tax'd at the Discretion of an Army, Contributions raised by Arbitrary Decrees and Ordinances, Benevolence asked with Sword in hand, and Loans demanded with beat of Drum : at last, their Gates broken down, their Portcullis's destroy'd, and their Posts and Chains pull'd to pieces with all the marks of Desolation : would these Grave and Prudent Gentlemen, remember how innumerable were the dreadful Consequences of that fatal Doctrine of Resistance, they would for ever hereafter be very Jealous how they gave the least encouragement to such Pernicious Principles.

But what, I (too) wish the most of all, is, that the Inferior Order of Gentlemen, and the Common People who enjoy great Privileges, have their Properties secured to them by good Laws, and have plenty of all that's necessary, had but seen (or would now believe the History of those times when) a Yeomanry and Common People, who not long before, had a right of Choosing Representatives in Parliament, of being tryed by a Jury of Twelve Men, and paying only such Taxes as they consented to, were soon after forced sometimes to pay greater Taxes than the Yearly value of their Farms ; were hanged and punished just as the Governours, Usurpers, and Tyrants, had a mind to it ; no longer Tryed by Just Judges and Impartial Jurys, no longer Tryed by God and their Country, but Sentenced and Executed by Court Martials, Tax'd at the Discretion of the Rapacious Conquerors, and at last, almost one half of the people were made

made Soldiers to keep t'other half in order : *Should they but see painted in lively Colours, all this inexpressible misery of their fellow Creatures, who knew nothing of such Circumstances till the Doctrine of Resistance, and the Superior Power of the People began to take place in this Land, I cannot think we should have such Numbers of unthinking Men that should seem pleased in hearing the same Doctrines again advanced among us.*

I rather believe, that those Lords and Ladys, Bishops and Gentlemen, Citizens and Common People, would all try out with one unanimous Voice, the Doctrine of Resistance is Inconsistent with the Establishment, is Destructive of our Peace, and may prove our Ruin.

And now Sir after all that has been said on this Point, I hope you will confess, there is as much Truth and Reason in my Harangue, as in your own. You bring Foreign History in proof of the pernicious Consequence of Passive Obedience, I have from Domestick Misfortunes shewn the terrible Effects of Resistance : You have shewn how the Nobility, Gentry, and Peasantry of *Sweden* were destroy'd by One, and I have at least, with equal truth demonstrated, that our own Lords Temporal and Spiritual, the Honourable House of Commons, the Citizens and People of our own Country, were Oppressed and Ruined by the Doctrine of Resistance being reduced into Practice : I might have added, how even the Crown itself was brought low and trampled on, before the Rights and Liberty of the Subjects could have been thus trodden under foot.

I am not unwilling Sir to give you the precedence in the bitterness of your Invective, tho' I shall not gladly own your Superiority in Reason, Modesty, or good Nature : I have always laid it down as an unquestioned Truth, that to call Names, Revile, and Reproach, were as sure Signs of want of Reason and Argument, as of Charity and good Manners.

Zeal I own is commendable, and the Rights of our People, and Liberty of our Country, are very just Objects of our Zeal, but yet there is a due temperature of Candor and Discretion, requisite to make it easy to our selves, or acceptable to others : Methinks, a Gentleman of Piety and Breeding, as Mr. *Benson* was always esteemed by them that know him, should have left those Vulgar Decorations of his Rhetoric, to the Mercenary Scriblers of the Town.

Church-Trumpeter, Impostor, Apostate Wretch, and Traytor, are Terms so Uncharitable and Ungenteel, that I can scarce believe they could drop from the Pen of so good a Christian as Mr. *Benson* has ever been reputed : I can't but suspect, that the Letter was Father'd on a wrong Author, when I find so little Charity or Moderation throughout, and know how strongly Sir *you* have always pleaded for both.

If you think no Resentment can be too keen, no Reproaches too severe for the Abettors of Passive Obedience, you must not then wonder at, nor blame those Writers whose Complexion is equally Sanguine with your own, when they throw back these Calumnies and Slanders on your Self or Friends, with the same Acrimony of Style, and sharpness of Reviling. I hlegm I confess has the predominance in my Temperature, so that I have little Temptation to, and less Pleasure in these Recreations; they seem to me, to be no less inconsistent with Wisdom, than contrary to the Meekness of the Christian Spirit.

Whether it be the Effects of my Constitution, the result of my Studies, or the dictates of Conscience, I know not, but when I look on any of our Modern Writers, I can't help examining into the Reason, Justice, and Charity of their Performances, and thence compute the value of their Works: and as I proceed by this Rule in my Judgment on others, I think my self oblig'd to Act by it my self.

I must therefore confess, I design'd little else besides Declamation and Harangue, in those pathetic Addresses to the persons of several Stations which I Transcribed almost *verbatim*, from the Letter to Sir *J. B.* I own my self En-debted for the Art of Retorting to the *Ingenious* Author of the *Mudley*, whose chief Excellence lies in that admirable Talent of *Tu quoque*.

I profess besides, I would not willingly leave my Reader prejudiced with the Notion, that all they who have of late Preach'd and Abett'd the Doctrine of Resistance, do design to repeat the Tragedys of 48: No, I would not say such a thing for the World; I am sure I then should bely my Conscience, and run into a Crime, which I shall ever detest, and always (I hope) avoid.

You may see how easily and plausibly, what ever Arguments you have advanced, under pretence of delivering meer matter of Fact, may be turn'd back on your own Principles,

Principles, and make their Defenders and Abettors, as Odious to the People, as suspected by the Prince ; and then Sir, I suppose it will not be deny'd, that I have said enough to make good my Position, that you neither have, (nor could have) proved, that Passive Obedience was the Instrument wherewith the *Swedish* Clergy Ruined their Peoples Liberty.

And that neither your self, nor any of your Admirers, may have cause to complain of my Application of your Letter to such ill natur'd Designs, I shall from your own words shew, that I violate neither the Rules of Reason, nor Laws of Charity, when I say all that Letter was design'd as a bitter Invective against our own Clergy. Perhaps you may imagine, you have reap'd so much glory from that Performance, that you will require no proof of so clear a matter.

But because some seem to lay so great a stress on that Assertion of yours, that what you have offer'd, is not Argument but matter of Fact ; that they do in a manner say, none ought to charge you with such an Application. I shall produce some few Instances.

I might insist on those Two Paragraphs, page 16, which I have already produced, and which you have dignified with Marks of some eminent Distinction. I might argue from that moving Harangue, just now taken notice of ; but that I may not be tax'd of Repetition, for want of fuller Evidence, I shall put this matter past all doubt. At Page 27. you make this remark on the Account of *Denmark* (a Book I know to be nicely suited to your Genius, especially for that Candor and Justice, shewn to our Universities in its Preface.)

' The *Danes* as well as *Swedes*, Breed their Clergy-Men at *Oxford* ; so that 'tis more than probable, that this *Passive* and *Absolute Doctrine*, had it's Original in *South-Britain* : but it is next to the greatest certainty, that this *Prodigious Wickedness* was Begotten, as well as Born upon the Banks of the *Thames*.

This I take to be very plain speaking, no need of a Comment ; every Reader is taught the Drift and kind Design of that Letter : but you must pardon me, if I take the same Liberty with you here, as I did about a quarter of an Hour ago.

You say, the *Danes* and *Swedes* Breed their Clergy-Men at

at *Oxford*; this is just as true, as if I should say, the *English* and *Scots* Breed their Lawyers, Physicians, Gentlemen, and Divines, at *Utrecht*, *Leyden*, and *Geneva*, and not one jot more true. Any one would be apt to think, that we had at least, a College or two for those Foreigners, that we had an hundred or two of 'em at a time, and that there was some publick care taken of their Education.

But there's nothing like it; no one that I know of, is Member of our University, nor any number of 'em amongst us. But the manner of their Studies is this; there may perhaps of *Danes* and *Suedes*, be Eight or Ten at a time, seldom more; not that I am certain there are so many: they make a very indifferent Figure generally speaking, take a cheap Lodging at some Townsmans House, desire leave to study in the Publick Library, which is always granted on their paying a moderate Fee, and obliging themselves to do no Damage: there they spend great part of their time, associate chiefly with one another, seldom frequent our Publick Lectures, or be at the Charge of a private Tutor. Scarce get *English* enough while they stay, to understand our Sermons when they hear them: they spend perhaps half a Year, some One, and very few Two Years among us, under no manner of Discipline or Dependence on us; they do just what they please themselves, Read, Write, or be Idle, when they like it best; are moderate in their Expences, and reserved in their Conversation, and seldom contract any thing of a familiar Acquaintance with the Scholars; so that if they learn Passive Obedience at *Oxford*, they find it out themselves, from the Reasonableness and Truth of the Doctrine, and not from any publick Teaching of it here.

And now let any one Judge how true is that Assertion of yours, that the *Danes* and *Suedes* Breed their Clergy Men at *Oxford*: Should there be Six or Eight, or Ten Merchants Sons, or Apprentices be sent, or rather go on their own accord to *Stockholm*, to learn the way of Trade amongst them, could we say the *English* Breed their Merchants at *Stockholm*? Why then shall it be said, that the *Danes* and *Suedes* Breed their Clergy at *Oxford*? Not that it signifies one Farthing to the matter in hand, whether they do or not; only, you shew your kindness to this place, by endeavouring to trace the Original of all the Calamities of *Sweden* from our University.

The

The two next Pages contain Insinuations and Reflections on the Queen and Parliament, so nicely interwoven with your kind Censures of the Clergy, that I know not how to separate the one from the other. As therefore I have purposely declined meddling with those points which are more proper in my mind to be Examined in *Westminster-Hall*, or the *Old Bailey*, than by any private Pen ; so I must let slip all that Beauty, Elegance, and Skill, without paying my Tribute of Praise and Applause.

As for your Complement on the *Old Romans*, it is mere Banter : Were ever People more Oppressive, Imperious, and Insolent, in most of their Conquests ? Was ever Nation so ungrateful to their Generals and Deliverers ? Witness *Camillus*, *Coriolanus*, and the *Scipio's*. *England* is not yet so Base, how industrious so ever some have been to fix this blackest of Crimes on their own Country.

As for your Encomium on the Duke, I have nothing to say against it, only that it comes far short of his Merits : But what is that to the Clergy or University ? We all are glad of every opportunity to celebrate his Praise ; the Temple and the Theatre have Echo'd back the Glories of *Marlborough* ; we have long ago Pronounced *Alexander* and *Cesar*, *Pompey* and *Anthony*, to be mere Shadows, when compared with the Immortal *Churchill* ; and with an eager Impatience have we long wished, that the same hand may have the Honour of concluding a Blessed Peace, that has signalized it self in so eminent a manner thro' the whole War. That unthankful People the *Romans*, did often indeed defraud their most deserving Generals of the Glories of a Peace, tho' they had undergone all the Hardships of War. How frequent was it for a Province almost Subdued to be taken from the first Commander, and given to another, whereby the latter reap'd the Glory and Profit of the others Toil and Dangers ? We all with Prayers and Vows unanimous wish, that *England* may never be branded with so much Baseness and Ingratitude : And therefore you might have spared those undeserved Contumelies wherewith you upbraid the Clergy and us ; neither they nor we have any Projects against our Countrymen, which we desire so great a Man to Concert or Execute : We Triumph in his Successes, and gladly Congratulate every advance he makes towards his own, his Princes, and his Countrys Eternal Renown and Happiness ; and so would willingly suppose that we are unconcern'd in your 31st Page. But

But you will not suffer us so fondly to impose on our Senses and Understanding, and therefore tell us towards the bottom: 'The Sum of all is this.

' There have been in our days, at least in the days of
' all our Fathers, Three Kingdoms in the World, (includ-
' ing all as one that are under one Prince) whose Happy
' Constitutions were made up of King, Lords, and Com-
' mons. These Three were Attacked by the Hero's of
' Slavery, within a few Years last past. Two of them have
' fallen a miserable Sacrifice to their Infamous Doctrine;
' and the Third by the Miraculous Providence of God, but
' very narrowly escaped about Twenty Years ago. And
' can any sensible Person now pretend to give a Reason,
' why the same Doctrine is not able to ruin the Third, es-
' pecially when those that miscarried, can see now by the
' Success of the other two, where the Mismanagement lay
' that hindred them from the same Success?

From this place you pursue the Application for about three Pages together, so that for any one to say you have only offer'd Matter of Fact, is as False as Absurd: it is to shut their Eyes, and desire every body else to be as Blind as they pretend to be themselves. But now for a short Answer to that captious Question: *Can any sensible Person pretend to give a Reason why the same Doctrine is not able to Ruin the Third?* I might say, that this Doctrine was not able to Ruin the other Two, and therefore may not be able to ruin the Third: Next, that it did not ruin the other Two, and so may not ruin the Third; but I wave all Reasons of my own, lest I should be thought to pretend to be a sensible Person, which its likely you may be very unwilling to allow, and shall give you a very sufficient Reason from one whom every one will allow to be a sensible person.

Be pleased then to turn to Monsieur Vertots *Revolutions in Sweden*, and there you may find at Page 29. an easy Solution of this Question. *This Scene of Disorder lasted Four-Years; during which time, the Kingdom was perpetually distracted with Intestine Wars; and the People were so weary of a Liberty, that expos'd 'em to so many and such terrible Miseries, that they demanded the Restoration of King Canutson, with extraordinary Eagerness and Importunity, preferring an easy Subjection, to a wild and extravagant Freedom.*

And

And this will serve for an unanswerable Reply to all your Cavils and Objections against the Doctrine of Passive Obedience : it always was the Interest of *Sweden*, to be under an Absolute Government : they had no sense of that Blessed *Medium*, which we enjoy, between the two horrid Extreams of Tyranny and Anarchy : Confusion of Slavery seem'd absolutely necessary for that Nation ; and they never were so Great and Glorious Abroad, so Easy and Happy at Home, as under the Government of *Cesarus* the Hero of the Abbots pleasant Romance : It was by his Absolute Power that he introduced the Reformation ; it was by the same Authority, that he retrenched the Exorbitant Encroachments of the Clergy ; and this I should have thought would have reconciled that Glorious Monarch to your Favour, though an Absolute Prince : This I must tell you besides, that the more Arbitrary was the King, so much easier was the People of *Sweden* ; none but the Clergy and Nobility, had ever occasion to complain of the Despotic Rule of their Governours : The more the Prerogative was straightned, so much the more heavy were the Oppressions of the People : for indeed, who were the Oppressors of the People, but the Popish Clergy, and the Nobles ? And therefore the People only changed many Imperious Lords, for one Mighty Prince ; and made their Peace with the Crown, by helping to reduce their Task-Masters to their own Condition, to make them their fellow Subjects, who had used to domineer over them with Lordly Sway. For the Truth of this, I appeal to all the Histories of *Sweden* :

And now I can sufficiently answer you, why Passive Obedience can never have those Effects in *England*, which you suppose it to have had in *Sweden*, because it can never (I hope) be the Interest of *England*, to be under the Absolute Rule of any One : and therefore, how Indiscreetly soever some particular Men may strain the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, there is no danger that it will do us any Mischief ; because Men will ever be guided more by their Interest than their Faith.

I must here observe, that Passive Obedience was a Doctrine very ill suited to the temper of *Popery* : you know, you confess, it never was heard of in *Sweden*, till the Extirpation of the *Romish* Usurpations ; and therefore I hope you will for the future be so Honest and Ingenuous, to clear

the Clergy of *England* of any Suspicion of *Popery* on this Head; tho' this is one of those absurd Imputations so generally laid to their Charge, that they effect *Popery* in their Religion, and Tyranny, in their Prince; when all the World that knows any thing of History will confess, that generally speaking, the most strenuous Assertors of *Papacy*, were the most jealous of the growing Power of their Prince.

And therefore it may with good Reason be Argued, that they who shew so much Zeal for a strict Obedience of the Subject to the Prince, will never come into any Measures that shall Subject themselves, the People, and the Prince himself to a Foreign Jurisdiction. The *Swedish* Clergy indeed favour'd *Christiern* against the Administrator, but the reason of that is plain; it was their Interest rather than their Principle, that induc'd them to proceed in that manner: not but that they had a very specious Pretence; they had taken the Oaths of Allegiance to the *Duke*, who was by some Means or other Elected to be their Prince, and therefore they might plead Conscience for their Obstinate Adherence to his Interest: Tho' this I must own, was in them a mere pretence, for their Conscience knew no Bonds of Obedience, when it was their Interest to Rebel.

Till then it can be shewn, that it is the Interest of our Clergy to alter our Government, (supposing them to have Power sufficient for such a work, which no sensible Person I presume will say they have) it is very unfair dealing with them, to insinuate from the Behaviour of the *Swedes*, that the *English* Priesthood would endeavour to destroy the Rights of their Fellow Subjects: For in Arguments taken from Example (which of all Arguments are the weakest, tho' I confess, fittest to delude the unwary Reader) there ought to be a resemblance of Circumstances before we argue for a similitude of Actions.

Since then *Sweden* and *England*, have for this last Century of Years and an half (excepting that 20 Years so Infamous to our Nation) been the most widely different, it must be very fallacious Reasoning, to charge our Nation, Prince, Parliament or Clergy, with any such Measures that made the *Swedes* so Miserable.

I am sorry that you have given me occasion to Tax you with so much Unkindness, Insincerity and want of Charity, to an Order of Men, who can never be Happy, but when

when the Nation is so ; who contribute all they can to persuade the People to prefer an *easy Subjection* to a *wild and extravagant Freedom*. And say not now that I am Malicious or Uncharitable, in making this Application of your Letter ; for have you your self endeavour'd to conceal your Meaning when ever you would bear hard upon the Clergy ? You are indeed Cautious and Circumspect in those Hints which all the World must understand, tho' the Law perhaps cannot lay hold on. When you intend to reflect on the Government, it would look too much like the Spirit of Revenge, should I endeavour to aggravate that Matter, and expose all those double Entendres in their true Colours ; for this perhaps might betray me into that very fault which I shall ever condemn in another, and therefore Sir I spare you.

But then I must take leave to expostulate with you on that unhandsome Treatment, which the Clergy and our University has met with at your hands : What have they or we done to deserve so much Contempt and Scorn ? There is no Enemy so despicable, that ought in a Wise Mans Judgment to be treated with Irrision and Insolence.

Have those venerable Bodies of Men any Power or not ? If not, Generosity would prompt a Man to pity rather than Scorn, would raise his Compassion, not his Indignation : Have they any Power or Authority ? Then would Prudence and Modesty incline a Man to treat them with some Deference and Civility, if not with Respect : Their Characters ought to preserve them from such Insults and Revilings.

What can be the meaning of it, that your self and many others seem to entertain such very mean Sentiments of those Men, who over all the Learned World, are mentioned with Honour and Applause ? Why an Atheist, a Libertine, or Debauche, should ridicule the Priesthood, and despise these Seats of Learning, I don't at all admire.

But that Mr. *Benson*, whom I know to be a constant Communicant with our Church, a Sober Considerate Man, should undertake a Task so Inconsistent with good Nature or Breeding, I can't help wondering at ; nor can I account for it in any other manner, than that you were resolved to vent your spleen on them, whom you might think were Instruments in the Change of the Ministry, though ever before thought to be very Insignificant Tools.

And thus while you were gratifying your Resentment, forgot that Decency which became your own Character, and ventured your own Reputation while you endeavour'd to Murder that of your Adversaries : Suppose the Doctrine of Passive Obedience had done ten times more harm in *Sweden* than it has, and there might be ten times more danger in our own Nation than there is from this Doctrine ; and the Clergy Preached it as often and vehemently as they are said to do it, yet can it never be reconciled to Manners or Discretion, to treat them in so contumelious a Manner.

Know you not, have not those few of the Clergy, (whom I suppose you are willing to exempt from the general Imputation) often told you, and the whole World, that Moderation, Calmness, good Reason, Perswasion, Kindness, Patience and Forbearance, are the best Arguments for Conviction ? Is there then the least sign of any one of these Christian Virtues, to be seen through that Letter ?

Ought you not rather to have shewn by demonstrative Arguments, the unreasonableness of this Doctrine, than by subtle Surmises and Suggestions to defame its Preachers ? How often have we been told that Railing, is not Reasoning, nor Satyr Argument ? Or has any sort of Men a Privilege of condemning this practice in others, though they never stick at using it themselves ? This is a Secret I can't fathom ; why Ill Language, Calumny, Lies, and Slander, are Weapons more justifiable on one side than the other. I can scarce forbear suspecting, that all the Noise was made some Years ago about *Moderation*, was meer Banter and Amusement : for how many Writers have of late appear'd from that Quarter, who seem'd to have made this Virtue their Characteristic, without the least Marks and Tokens of it ; even not enough to give one ground to believe they were ever acquainted with so Christian a Grace.

It really amazes me to read and hear so much Bitterness, Spight, and Malice, where there ever has been so great a pretence to Temper and Charity. One would almost think that those Men are resolved to be Moderate in every thing, but their Persecution of the Church and Her Sons ; but when they bend their Tongue like a Bow against the Holy Sanctuary, some Irresistible Fury agitates them beyond the force of Humane Malice, to Asperse, Defame, Vilify, and Insult the Priesthood and its Friends.

I can conceive no Reason why the Clergy should have so many and so inveterate Enemies among them, who are Members of the same Communion: None ought to wonder, that those who despise all Religion, or are profess'd Enemies to the Establish'd, should make very free with those Men, who endeavour to expose the Folly of Atheism, and Danger of Schism: but why merely on the account of one Doctrine which they think unreasonable, they should treat the appointed Ministry with so much Disdain and Neglect, who agree with them in every thing else, is prodigiously surprizing and unaccountable.

You think, that the Doctrine of Resistance is the most reasonable and convenient for the Safety and Liberty of the People; and I (perhaps) that Passive Obedience sounds best in the Pulpit from the Messengers of Peace, is most conducive to the Honour of the Prince, and yet consistent with the Rights and Privileges of the Subject: but must we now call one another Traytor, Rebel and Incendiary, False to our Queen, or Treacherous to our Country? These methinks are words unbecoming the Mouth or Pen of a Gentleman; can never make Converts, will only prejudice Men against our Persons, and prepossess them against our Opinions.

Why should such Differences as these set us at so great a Variance, break all Bonds of Charity, and destroy all Rules of Civil Conversation? There may Inconveniencies follow, from the rigorous pressing of Passive Obedience under a Bad Prince; but none sure, under so Just, so Pious, so Affectionate a Queen as now Reigns over us: There may surely as many Inconveniencies follow from the Peoples being taught they may Resist their Governours, when they think themselves aggrieved, and can find no other Remedy than Arms.

Now at best, your Opinion may be as dangerous as mine; and then why must we charge one another with all those Horrid Accusations that can besit none but open Rebels and condemn'd Traytors? You know, Thoughts can't be Treasonous, why then should we be severer on one another, than the Laws?

But what is more unreasonable; why must those Gentlemen who have devoted their Studies and Service to God and Religion, or they, who are preparing themselves for this Sacred Work, be Insulted with so much Petulancy and Scorn? Priest was never a Word of Contempt among the Romans; it was no Diminution of their Honour, but added Dignity to the Highest Quality: Caesar himself thought it an Addition to all his Honour, to be *Pontifex Maximus*.

When we enter the University, we are (many of us) Gentlemen, and should be esteemed as such, were we to study in the Temple, or any of the Inns of the Courts: and shall we then be degraded, after the Expence of 4 or 500 Pounds spent in

our

our Education, because we Dedicate the Remainder of our Lives and Labours, to the Service of God and his Church ? This surely is Usage, no less unreasonable than hard. Why must the Laws of Man add greater Dignity to their Students, than the Laws of God ? If the former make a Gentleman, the latter surely need not disparage one that is Born so : Why then shall Men endeavour to make Cheap, and Ridiculous, those Names and Titles which were design'd as Marks of Honourable Distinction ? How many have pretended to be Witty in speaking to a Clergy Man, when they call him *Priest, Parson, Man of God, &c.* But where's the Wit or Manners in Scurrility ? For tho' those Appellations are in themselves far from being Scurrilous, yet by having been made the Sport of Wanton Pens and Saucy Tongues, they are now scarce ever mentioned, but with a design of expressing Scorn and Contempt.

Let me therefore desire you for the future, to have more care of your own Reputation and Character, while you seem so very negligent of others : What signifies it for any one to write himself a Gentleman, when his Carriage betrays his Rudeness and Ill Breeding.

Can you imagine that a few lines towards the Conclusion, in favour of some particular Divines, is any reasonable Excuse for that Licentious freedom you have used in your Reflections on the whole Body, for 38 Pages together. You say indeed,

It may be proper to take notice, that I would not be understood, as if what has been said above of the Swedish and Danish Clergy without Distinction, because they are all engaged in the same Intrigues with the Court, and in the same Plot against the People, can be applyed to our Clergy in the same Latitude ; that would be the greatest Injustice. Yes indeed would it : and still it is the greatest Unkindness, to insinuate for so long a while, that our Clergy are in the same Intrigues with the Court, in the same Plot against the People ; and then at last to qualify the matter, to say you would not be thought to apply this Censure to our own Clergy in the same Latitude.

What matters it, in what Latitude you apply your Reflections, while your Readers are taught to apply them at all ? It's not One in Ten that may know how to take Dimensions of that Latitude, in which you would desire they should be applied : But we may be pretty sure they will not be over-paring of their measure, when the greatest Latitude will please them best.

But that you may not entirely involve Friends and Enemies in the same Accusation you particularize the first, and leave the rest to be included in the general Censure. *To the Honour of this Nation be it spoken, there are Dead and Living Fathers of the Divine British Liberty, the Tillotson's and Tenison's, the Burnet's, the Talbot's, and the Wake's, will, without doubt,*
sound

found Nobly in every Ear of a Free Born People, when all the shameless Advocates of Tyranny and Slavery, will be utterly forgot, or remembered with Detestation.

And will not most Readers be apt to conclude, that you design'd they should think all but those Right Reverend Prelates were in Opposition to the Interest of their Country, and that they alone were well affected to the Liberty of the People? Give me leave then to add Two Names to your List of Exceptions, that will for ever make the Brightest Appearance in the History of our Revolution, and those are *Compton* and *Sharp*: These are Names will never be forgotten in our *British* Registers, and are too great for any Panegyrics.

The mention of these Venerable Names, puts me in mind of the foulest practice used by the Writers of your Persuasion, that is, they are ready to brand any one with those Odious Imputations, of being Advocates of Tyranny and Slavery, if they Preach up Obedience to their Governours: None surely will upbraid those strenuous Assertors of the *Britains Rights*, with being Advocates of Tyranny and Slavery; this would be the most Audacious Impudence and Falsehood; and yet if all that are against the Doctrine of *Resistance*, must come under that Character, these Reverend Prelates can't escape: To so large a Latitude, do you Sir extend your Charitable Reflections: It's plain, those *Ancient Fathers* of the *Divine British* Liberty, did not think it proper to pronounce an Inferior Clergy Man a Criminal, for asserting the Doctrine of Passive Obedience; and yet they will (even by you I hope) be allow'd as True to their Country, as they are Loyal to their Queen.

And here I can't but take notice, of another Partial and Unequal way of Censuring the Clergy: Mr. *Hoadly* and other Gentlemen of his Opinion, may without blame, when they think fit, Settle the *Principles of Government*, and State the *Measures of the Subjects Obedience* in their Pulpits: But when the Divines of the other side, endeavour to maintain the Rights of Princes, and press the Duty of Obedience home on their Hearers Conscience, they are immediately exclaim'd against as Busy Bodies, to exceed their Commission, and to act out of their Sphere; Divinity, not Politics, ought to be their Studies.

And now I pray you, is Passive Obedience Politics, more than Resistance? Or has any Set of Men got a Royal Patent for the Monopoly of Politics? Some imagine Resistance a Poisonous Doctrine, and Passive Obedience an Antidote: As then both Parties Act by the same Authority, by the same License, one surely can't be more out of his proper Sphere than the other, while they each apply those Remedies they think most proper for the Publick Safety.

But why I beseech you, may not the Clergy meddle with

Politics ? Are there not as well Political Duties contain'd in the Scriptures, as Moral or Evangelical ? And then may not those Duties be enforced by such Arguments, as the Preacher shall think the most Rational ?

Or why have the Clergy nothing to do with Politics ? Have they no stake in the Government ? Nay, does not their *little* All entirely depend on the Peace and Prosperity, and Liberty of their Country ? Owe they not their Tithes and Revenues to the same Laws, as the Laity do their Goods and Lands ? How then can it be ever reconciled to Sense, that they should Contribute towards the Destruction of the Laws ? How can they have any Interest separate from that of the State ? Can it be thought they are so Ignorant in our own History, as not to have Learn'd, that the more Arbitrary is any Prince, so much the more Oppressed will be the Clergy ? Who has been so Absolute, as was *Henry VIII.* ? And who has ever since managed the Clergy with so strait an Hand ?

Is it possible for the Clergy to advance the Prince Paramount, to those Laws which he has Sworn to observe, without throwing up their own Rights, Properties, and Liberty ? And of these Privileges you know, every Mortal is so fond, that very few will be perswaded to make a Compliment of them to their Prince.

Till therefore it can be demonstrated, that it is for the Interest of the Clergy and Universities, to make themselves entirely dependent on the Crown, and to be Subject to the Arbitrary Pleasure of One Man, which is an Undertaking (I suppose) none will be fond of ; I hope you will for the future, have a better Opinion of the Sense, Wisdom, and Policy of those Bodies of Men ; if not, of their Honesty, Courage, and Conscience.

And now let me intreat you to lay aside that unbecoming Warmth and Disesteem with which you have hitherto treated the Clergy and this Academy : It can do your Cause no good ; it may perhaps exasperate our Enemies ; but such rough Usage will never make one of us a Convert to your Opinion : This Method may Widen, but never can Reconcile our Differences.

I wonder what you would have the Clergy done with, that are so Unfortunate, as to have incur'd your Displeasure for their Opinions ? If one may judge of your Thoughts by your Words, I should believe you would be glad to dress them up like Wild Beasts and Noxious Animals, and then expose them to the blind Rage of an Incens'd Multitude.

Let me then once more entreat you Sir, to use less Gall in your Ink, and more Charity in your Thoughts and Expression, and then we may in time perhaps agree in our Sentiments, or at worst, live together in Brotherly Love and Christian Charity, remembering always who it is that said, *By this shall all Men know, that you are my Disciples, if you have Love one to another.*

Oxon, April 13, 1711.

F I N I S.

